October 195

Fellowship

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CHARLES E. RAVEN *Theologian*

ar's Tinderbox - The Middle East, by John M. Swomley, Jr

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ff Canon Charles E. Raven of England, who will be remembered with admiration and affection by FOR members who heard him speak last year at the National Conference and other meetings, and President of the British FOR, is pictured on the cover this month. Emeritus Regius Professor of History at Cambridge University, he has also been vice-chancellor (corresponding to the position of president in this country) of that institution. His appearance on the cover this month celebrates not only the inclusion of his article on women in the church, but also the publication this month by the Fellowship of his new book, The Theological Basis of Christian Pacifism. . . . John M. Swomley, Jr., spent the months of July and August in the Balkans and the Middle East. . . . Jessie Wallace Hughan and Mary McDowell, both FOR members of long standing and both political war horses with varied experience of political movements and techniques, take up the cudgels in favor of action by pacifists in the political realm.

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A changing, seething, intensely nationalistic atmosphere pervades

WAR'S TINDERBOX
The Middle East

By JOHN M. SWOMLEY, Jr.*

WHEN I STEPPED from the airlines car that brought me from the airport into the center of Beirut, I did not know that King Abdullah of neighboring Jordan had just been shot. Nor did anything about the scene suggest that within a few minutes the spot where I was standing would be the scene of wild rioting touched off by news of the assassination. Quite unconscious that I was stepping off a powder-keg just before the explosion, I set out for American University to find Harvey Baty, an old FOR friend from Montana, and to begin to learn something at first hand about the Middle East.

The sea-front campus of American University, with its Western culture and technology and its Arab students and friends, is symbolic of the crossroads nature of the Middle East. This land, lying between the Orient and the West, has been the battleground for every conqueror, from Caesar to Hitler, who cast imperialist eyes toward the East. Through the Middle East is the short water route to the Orient. Over it fly European commercial planes to India and Japan. Under it lie the fabulous lakes of oil so desperately needed by the West. Its shores dominate a large part of a strategically vital Mediterranean; were they to fall into "unfriendly" hands, British-American control of the inland sea would be in grave jeopardy.

* John Swomley made this study trip in connection with Youth Argosy, a non-profit student travel enterprise directed by two FOR members, Monroe and Isabel Smith.

The intensely nationalistic Arabs who occupy most of this area are well aware of the covetous looks cast on their lands by both Russia and the West. That only a few of them are either "pro-Russian" or "pro-West" is not surprising. The Arabs suffered under centuries of foreign rule: first by the Ottoman Empire, then under British or French mandate. Their independence, so recently achieved, is very precious to them—doubly so because both British and French have tried to maintain political and economic influence even after independence was reluctantly granted. Such excesses as the assassination of King Abdullah because of his pro-British policy, his desire to unite the Arab states, and his refusal to be anti-Israel, grow naturally in the soil of this intense nationalism. Similarly, some who are not at all sympathetic to communism participate in Communist demonstrations simply to express their opposition to the West or to government officials whom they suspect of collaborating with the West.

The Problems of the Near East

From Beirut I made several short journeys to places like Damascus and Sidon, as well as to Arab villages in the hill country toward the Israel border. Each trip brought me new insights into the poverty of the land: Bedouins on the move with their flocks in search of pasturage; villagers tending their dried-up crops in the marginal lands and rocky hillsides. Only in the few fertile valleys is there abundance; everywhere else the combination of poor land and a high birthrate makes a major problem of over-population. There are about 40 million living in these small Arab states, and, as in Bible times, the pressure of population is eased chiefly by migration. More Lebanese live outside of Lebanon than live in it, but the pressure continues in spite of the fact that 300 out of every 1000 Lebanese are estimated to die at or shortly after birth. In the villages the infant mortality rate is about 50 percent, though Lebanon is one of the more advanced of the Arab states so far as health and education are concerned.

Imperialism, perpetuated even after colonialism itself has largely ended, plagues the land. Only a few of the Arab states produce oil, yet there is a general feeling, even in non-oil producing areas, that the oil belongs to "us Arabs." The people resent British, American and other foreign oil companies as exploiters. Many Arabs believe that British and American support of Israel is a part of an imperialist program for penetrating the Middle East. Because the United States has done so much to aid in establishing and maintaining the new state of Israel, it has lost the popularity it had prior to World War II. The British are disliked both for their oil activity and because of the Arab belief that the British "double-crossed" them on Palestine by permitting the development of Israel. Despite this unity of hatred of Britain, America, and Israel, the Arab states are divided and very distrustful of each other. One American who has lived in the Middle East for some years told me that the Arab states hate the British, America, other Arab states and Israel, in that order.

Over-population and the exploitation by foreign capital contribute to the poverty that is everywhere

evident. In the country and even in some cities like Damascus people live very much as they did two thousand years ago. The village women still draw their water from a common well, and in areas capable of supporting crops, the wheat is separated from the chaff on a common threshing floor by the most primitive methods. Beggars roam the cities and towns, many of them physically as well as economically sick. Children covered with flies sleep on the street at midday in Damascus; at night they go home to dark and crowded quarters much worse than I have seen in the most wretched slums in America.

Where A Point-4 Would Work

Miracles could be performed here if oil profits were used for education, public health, improved housing, and land development and irrigation. If ever a land needed a genuine Point Four program it is these Arab states!

In Lebanon and Syria I saw several refugee camps and went through one of them with a person who had herself been forced out of what is now Israel. There are about 900,000 Arabs who were displaced from Israel, which means that one of every forty Arabs is a Palestinian refugee. For some of the refugees from the villages, living conditions are no worse than those of their previous existence, but for many who lived in the cities, educated and accustomed to cleanliness, the refugee camps are terrible. Tents provided by the United Nations, one for each family, are crowded close to each other without any of the order of an army tent camp, so that privacy simply does not exist. Most families have built floors of rock under the tents and some have planted flowers by the door.

Employment outside the camp is difficult because the respective governments do not want competition for jobs that are already scarce, and the occasional camp store provides work for only a handful. Consequently, the inhabitants continue to live chiefly on the UN food allowance of about 1500 calories per person per day and from what additional they can get by foraging. The chief damage, of course, is psychological. They have been refugees now for several years, and still have no prospect of returning to their homes or finding a permanent place to resettle.

Refugees Breed Hostility

The refugee problem is the Number One source of irritation that keeps alive the antagonism of the Arabs to the Jews. There is no likelihood that the Arab nations, with all of their political differences, their suspicions of each other, and their economic problems, will be able to solve this refugee problem by themselves. It must be solved on a world level by a public opinion informed just as it was in the case of the Jewish refugees and displaced persons in Europe. I am told by Americans in these countries that it has been difficult for even leading American newsmen and writers to get their stories printed in New York and other American metropolitan papers because of the pro-Israel policy of those papers.

From Beirut I flew to Cairo, which I found the worst city from the standpoint of poverty, and therefore of hospitality, of any I visited. Foreigners are literally besieged on the streets by self-ap-

pointed guides to the Pyramids, to the black market, to whorehouses, to the bazaars. They are as persistent as the ubiquitous Egyptian flies and almost as much of a nuisance. My own experiences were unfortunate. In visiting an old mosque no longer used for worship I was stopped from descending from a high minaret and threatened with being thrown over the parapet to the street several hundred feet below unless I surrendered my money. Later I learned that several foreigners had been killed in this old and poor section of the city. After yielding 85 piastres (about $2.50) I was warned by my assailants of the hostility of the people in this section to anyone speaking English and was told not to talk until I got to the section of the city frequented by Europeans.

I did not report the incident to the police. Two other offenders against tourists recently had received life imprisonment, and I would not want that on my conscience. However, an American University student to whom I recounted the story knew one of the boys involved, and took me to a member of the boy's family who owned a grocery store. After a pleasant discussion I was treated to a Coca-Cola and 50 piastres were pressed into my hand.

From Cairo I went to Alexandria and saw peasants irrigating and tilling the soil in the fertile delta. Oxen turn water-wheels to bring the water into the little furrows in the fields, and human labor, which is cheap, is much in evidence. Wages are low and prices relatively high. A secretary, for example, earns between 15 and 20 pounds a month, or roughly $45 to $60—a weekly wage for a secretary in the United States. Yet food in a second or third-class restaurant costs at leas two-thirds of a pound a day.

The King of Egypt, a dissolut and unjust ruler, has considerabl personal power. There is censorshi of the press and a Socialist edito was put in jail while I was in Cair for printing a mild criticism o some policy of the King's. Durin the time of the critical American write-ups of the King's marriag and the decision of some of hi family to stay in the United State when he ordered them to return t Egypt, American newspapers an periodicals were banned.

Anti-British feeling is fairly strong and growing. Except fo some of the Coptic Christians an some Jews who fear what the Mos lems will do to them with the British restraints withdrawn, mos people want the British out o Egypt and the vicinity. People loo upon Abdullah's death and the nationalizing of oil in Iran as evidence that Britain is losing her grip in the Middle East and can soon be driven out.

Israel a Pioneer Nation

In Israel the first and dominan impression one gets is that this i a pioneer enterprise. The whole nation has a sense of mission. There is nationalism here of an intense variety. Except for the secularism one could easily believe that the "chosen people" concept still prevails. There is pride in Israel's having "won" the war with the Arabs, pride in the building o houses, and a feeling that nothing can stand in their way. Israeli villages resemble the early towns of the American West in their intense activity, with whole communities built of tents and clapboard houses while more permanent

homes are being constructed. Yet unlike the Wild West and unlike neighboring Arab lands, there is a high degree of law and order. There are few police in evidence. Tourists are not bothered by self-appointed guides or beggars, nor are they cheated. There is a general feeling that tourists will not be molested anywhere. In part this attitude is fostered by the government for economic reasons. In part also it is due to the fact that so many people are immigrants accustomed to the law and order of Germany, America and other countries.

Nowhere else did I find people more friendly and willing to help a stranger. A middle-aged Jewish lady who sat beside me on the plane from Cyprus, warning that hotel rooms are scarce and expensive, invited me to stay in the two-room flat where she and her husband and her father lived. She insisted on paying the taxi fare and preparing breakfast the following morning, and then took me to a place where I could get a ride to Jerusalem. (It was the Sabbath and no busses or trains run on the Sabbath.) Throughout my few days in Israel, one person after another similarly helped me secure a room or transportation or fill some other need.

Everywhere in the country are communities of immigrants. These people arrive daily by ship and plane. Many of them are refugees and displaced persons from central Europe. Some come from Moslem countries like Iraq where the Jews are being forced out. Some have come from France, America and other lands because they want to live in a Jewish state. Those with money can generally find some reasonably good housing. I talked with one Iraqi Jew who had paid $35,000 to buy a 3-room modern apartment in Jerusalem. But for the most part immigrants are put in tents or in one-room clapboard structures or in the tin garage-like houses sent from the United States for this purpose. Hundreds of such temporary dwellings can be seen on the roads or in the outskirts of cities and towns. Since many of these families have absolutely nothing, their physical needs are being met by the money and food sent by Jewish contributors in the United States. After about a year in such camps a family may expect to move to more permanent and better quarters.

In addition to these immigrant camps there are a few Arab refugee camps remaining in Palestine. The immigrant camps are infinitely better than the Arab camps scattered throughout the Middle East, partly because there is a world awareness of the Jewish refugee problem resulting from Jewish publicity in many lands, and partly because in America at least Jewish influence has been partly responsible for the failure of the Arabs to get any publicity for their problems.

There are about 1,250,000 Jews in Israel and about 175,000 non-Jews, mostly Arabs. Since the election campaign was on during my visit it is worth noting that there are 880,000 eligible voters, of whom 75,000 are Arabs.

Israel's Minorities

There is, of course, a minority problem. The Jews have been so long a minority that some are now exercising their opportunity of being top dog. Part of the Jewish discrimination against the minori-

ties of Moslems and Christians is caused by religious difference. Part is because most Christians and Moslems have some contact with relatives on the Arab side and the Jews suspect them, with some justification, of being pro-Arab or at least anti-Israel. Nazareth, for example, is wholly an Arab community, chiefly because Christian institutions maintained by groups in other countries like France and Scotland were on all the surrounding hills as well as in the town, thus making it impossible for the Israeli armies to destroy the town without causing serious international repercussions. When I went through Nazareth on the bus all Arabs were forced to get off the bus at the edge of town while Jewish soldiers checked identity cards and examined their bundles.

Economic Difficulties

It is difficult for minority persons to get jobs. And they must of course conform to Jewish laws such as those that forbid any public transportation or transacting of any business on the Friday-Saturday Sabbath.

One can sense immediately the resentment of Christians and Moslems. Christians and Moslems alike expressed some kind of gratification at the death of King Abdullah because they felt he had been too friendly to Israel.

The resentment on the part of the minority is also a direct result of the war. When the Arabs were told to leave, whole Arab villages were wantonly blown up by Israel to prevent the return of these displaced persons.

Israel has at least two big problems, either of which might result in her downfall. The first of these is economic. Her policy of the in-gathering of Jews from across the world is daily adding to her terrific debt. Without the help of American Jews she could not last a week. That is why some refer to Israel as America's 49th state. Her tremendous activity and the industry of her people are not enough. Except for a few rich valleys, Israel is mountainous and rocky. There are few natural resources other than the rocks, which permit her extensive construction of roads and buildings. Food is rationed and everyone lives on an austerity diet. I have the impression that when the romance wears off and American Jewish contributions decline Israel will be in bad shape. Her one and, I think, insufficient hope is to capitalize on her biblical background and build a strong tourist industry, unless, of course, new attempts to discover oil in the Negev are successful.

Some of the romance is already wearing off for some immigrants. I met some who wished they could leave at once for the United States or other countries. Actually, leaving is impossible unless they have kept or can secure passports from another country, since Israel, with no citizenship law on the books, is not yet issuing passports.

One indication of Israel's economic problem is the serious inflation. The Israeli pound is officially valued at $2.80, but it is possible to buy a pound for 80c to $1.00. In foreign banks a pound is worth even less.

Surrounded by Hostility

A second major problem is her relationship with her neighbors. Except for her seacoast she is completely surrounded by hostile na-

tions. The one stabilizing influence among the Arabs, King Abdullah, is dead, and as a result of his death there is greater fear in Israel that hostilities may be renewed. Israel's fear of her neighbors and the war through which she has passed has resulted in an acceptance of militarism that is astonishing when one considers the generally anti-militarist sentiment of Jews in other countries. Boys are liable for military service at 17 and must serve two years, returning thereafter for a month a year and a day a month until the age of 39. From 39 to 49 there is a two-week obligation per year as well as one day a month. Girls are also drafted for a two-year period though their obligation ends when they marry. Aside from the acceptance of conscription as a normal part of the national life, and the widespread feeling that army life is good for boys and girls, I ran into some comment on the moral implications of conscription of girls. Members of the religious bloc claim that there are too many sex problems arising from the conscription of girls, who are trained and housed in the same camps as the boys. Others claim that this poses no special problem, since in the collective farms boys and girls sleep in the same room from childhood on.

Everywhere in Israel one sees armed soldiers and feels the alertness of the nation for possible conflict. Each incident such as Egypt's blockade of the Suez against Israel finds people who feel that the only solution is a military one. There are of course no relations with her neighbors. Israeli Jews who have relatives in Egypt or other Arab countries which still permit Jews to live there are not permitted to visit their families even on neutral territory like Cyprus. There is censorship of mail and of all photos and written matter taken out of the country.

The Arab Refugees

The third major problem, which is really one of the reasons for the bad relationship with the Arab nations, is that of the Arab refugees. So long as there are thousands of Arab refugees who serve as a living reminder to the Arabs of the war with Israel, there will be serious antagonism between the Israel and her neighbors. The following are the possibilities that have been generally proposed by one side or another:

1. *Israel should pay an indemnity to the refugees for the loss of their property and means of livelihood.* This I believe is impossible for Israel except in a very small token sense which would in no sense deal with the problem.

2. *Resettlement of the Arab refugees and the formation of a federal or bi-national state.* Israel will not agree to this in the present state of nationalism, and if she did would face many problems from Arabs who have learned to hate everything Israeli.

3. *War by the Arab nations and the possible ending of the state of Israel.* This is by no means a remote possibility in the present unstable Middle East, though it does not seem imminent.

4. *Partial resettlement of Arab refugees.* This is a possibility, though there are no signs that Israel is considering it. The Jews are farming only the valleys and the land that is good or can be ir-

rigated. They are ignoring and will probably continue to ignore the marginal land in the rocky hills and mountains. The Arabs, on the other hand, made use of even the poorest land. The Arab villagers who lived on such land could be brought back without injuring Israel's economy. This would still leave as refugees the Arabs who lived in the valleys and in the cities before they were displaced.

Obviously, this larger problem is one that cannot be solved by any or all of the Middle East powers themselves. It must be solved on a world level, just as the displaced persons problem in Europe has become a world problem.

The Middle East is one of the least understood and also one of the most unstable areas in the world today. It is close to Russia and yet essential to the West so long as the power struggle continues. It is divided and therefore it is impossible for either the East or the West to apply a unitary foreign policy to the whole area. It is a land of poverty, fear, and suspicion. In other words, anything can happen. If the world wants to prevent war it must deal with the Middle East.

Prayer

Written by Edith Lovejoy Pierce and read by her at close of Meditation Period, FOR National Conference, Lakeside, Ohio, Sunday, September 9, 1951.

Our heavenly Father, we thank Thee for these few short days together of inspiration and joy in the fellowship of Thy spirit. As we leave this peaceful haven, let us not part from Thee or from each other in any real sense of parting. It is so easy to speak Thy name with those who share our ideas and concerns, and so hard to preach Thee in a hostile or indifferent world. May we carry with us into that larger world this small but intense world of the Spirit, which we have found here. Let us never completely lose it. Give us the courage to continue our witness, alone if necessary, and in our several situations, new or old, joyous or difficult. Some of us will be returning to humdrum, routine occupations. Others of us face far journeys to new places. Go with us and remain with all of us. Let us, Thy children, be the small loaves broken to feed the multitude, that by Thy grace our influence may be multiplied a thousandfold, and the breaking up of this gathering be not so much a parting from each other as a nourishing of many, through the light which we have received here. And if ever we should lose Thee, find us, our heavenly Father.

In Christ's name. Amen.

WE MODERNS HAVE MAINTAINED AN ARCHAIC ATTITUDE TOWARD

Women in the Church

By CHARLES E. RAVEN

WHEN THE APOSTLE PAUL declared that in Christ Jesus there was neither Greek nor Jew, bond nor free, male nor female he pointed to a characteristic of the human community which has only now become possible of fulfillment. We in these days of hysteria and under the threat of a third global war are apt to forget that alongside of the social issue between communism and what Americans call Democracy there are also the equally difficult questions of the racial conflicts now becoming acute in Africa and of the new status of womanhood now effecting changes in the most intimate and important of all human relationships. What makes this particular period so exciting is that in it the three great dividing lines—class and race and sex—which in spite of St. Paul's affirmation have been maintained without serious alteration for the past millennium are now being vigorously, inescapably challenged, and in their traditional form cannot longer be maintained. It is with the third of them that this article is concerned.

Among all the achievements of the past century, those discoveries and developments that have transformed the life of man and altered the very meaning of time and space, it may be doubted whether any is so profoundly significant or in the long run so beneficial as the emancipation of women. Until a century ago John Milton's line "He for God only, she for God in him" was accepted without question by all save a handful of avowed rebels. The great Scholastics of the 13th Century, the great Reformers of the 16th had alike accepted the subordination of the "weaker sex" as axiomatic; their churches followed their lead without question; and society was organized accordingly. How deeply the ethical and religious life of the white race has been colored and shaped by this dogma we are ourselves too much influenced by it to be able to estimate.

Looking back over the last fifty years of my own life two illustrations of the persistence of the old order spring to mind. In 1918 as a Chaplain to the Forces in France I was charged with lectures at the Chaplains' school at Blendecques. Week after week I discoursed upon the problems presented by the new status of women, reminding my hearers that the free entry of women into citizenship and the professions involved a new partnership between the sexes, that the widespread knowledge of contraceptives had destroyed the old, and evil, safeguards of continence, and that therefore new arguments and new standards must be invoked if the opportunity was to be rightly used. It is hardly unfair to say that such warnings were, and are, ignored. In 1928 when the reac-

tionary influence of the "new orthodoxy" was beginning to threaten all liberal and progressive movements in religion, I wrote a little book *Women and Holy Orders* intended to present the case for the authorization by the church of the ministries, pastoral, prophetic, devotional and administrative, which women were in fact already exercising, to state the case in terms of the contrast between truth and tradition. Here again the book has never been adequately answered and the churches almost without exception are still organized upon a purely masculine basis.

Neither Male nor Female

It is unnecessary here and now to repeat the arguments which emphasize the importance for sex-ethics and for institutional religion of a new and radical reconsideration of the traditional attitude. But it is perhaps worth while to draw attention to the theological value of equality between men and women in Christendom. The Church in whatever sense the word is used claims to be the instrument of Christ in the world, the continuer of his incarnate activity, the embodiment of his Holy Spirit. If in him there is neither male nor female, if his nature contains the full perfection of ours, and if our humanity consists not only of the characteristically masculine but of the characteristically feminine attributes, then it would seem that a society in which only men are admitted to office, or given opportunities and responsibilities for leadership, is necessarily unable to represent the fullness of Christ. For whatever may have been the truth in the First or for that matter in the Nineteenth Century it is manifestly false to argue today that women have nothing to contribute in the way of initiative or to deny that their special gifts of sympathy, home-making and healing are essential to any fully Christian ministry.

An Important Balance

The case can be put more abstractly. Though we should all admit that there is no such hard line to be drawn between the characteristics of men and of women as has sometimes been argued, yet it is evident that the male is normally adventurous, errant, katabolic, while the female is domestic, sedentary, anabolic. It is an exaggeration to label him destructive and her constructive or to say that he scorns the flesh and despises himself for yielding to it while she accepts it and delights in its creative use. But the antithesis is not without foundation; and any human society which is to reach a high level of Christian quality must, like its Master, see that both characteristics are freely and fully exercised.

The importance of the balance between them can best be seen if we consider the religions that have degraded womanhood like Islam or subordinated it like much of Judaism. In them there is always liable to be a direct glorification of the warrior; the *jehad* is the appropriate activity of the servants of the Lord of Hosts. There is also a moral code which vacillates between a puritanic asceticism and a contemptuous profligacy, as woman is regarded either as Madonna or as mistress. No truly incarnational theology, no fully Christian way of life can be attained until both males and female can contribute fully and

equally to its achievement. If the severity and the compassion of God, the sternness which denounces the proselytizing Pharisee as a child of hell, the gentleness which invites publicans and harlots into God's Kingdom, are to be combined in the ministrations of the Body of Christ, then the new status of womanhood presents Christendom with an opportunity. It is a tragic fact that whereas in the past half-century all the other great callings have admitted women on equal terms and to their great enrichment, the Church of Christ which ought to have been the first to do so if it had been true to its Founder and to its scriptures is still hesitant and obscurantist.

To the Convinced

For a Fellowship of Reconciliation this cause should need no commendation. Those of us who have spent our lives in the service of higher education must needs know many dozens of women who are admirably equipped for ministry and high office in the Church, who as scholars and theologians, as teachers and pastors, as servants of God and dispensers of his healing grace are competent to exercise or in some few cases, albeit under grave difficulties, are actually exercising their gifts in Christian communions. For such, the precedent of Cornelius supplies an unanswerable authority: Who can forbid the outward and visible sign when the inward and spiritual grace is manifestly present—unless of course the whole sacramental principle is to be condemned as artificial and unreal? But we know only too well how suspicious and hostile is the attitude of ecclesiastics; how hesitant are the best women in advocating their own claims; and how sadly indifferent is the great mass of church-members to the wastage and in many cases the heartbreak that accompanies our neglect.

Fellowship

The voice of fellowship
knows no tongue,
no race, or sex,
or creed.

It speaks with the deep
twinkle of the eye,
with the pulsing warmth
of flesh.

To dog and boy, man and wife,
mother and child,
it speaks,
charging the soul
with radiant love.

—George Kyncl

Strength for These Days

On Fear

By GERHARD TERSTEEGEN
Translated by Irene Huber

Among the persecutions of war and the Nazi rule, these writings of Gerhard Tersteegen, who lived from 1697 to 1769, proved to be of real strength to pacifists in Germany. Pastor Wilhelm Mensching, until recently Chairman of the German FOR, minister in Petzen bei Bückeburg, and founder of the Freundschaftsheim, suggested it for FELLOWSHIP's series *Strength for These Days.*

IT CAN BE GOD'S WILL that the world can do all kinds of things to us, can shut us up in such a way that we neither hear nor read of each other nor are able to see each other. Well then, in God's name! let us simply suffer and love and thus prove through our actions that no creature is anything in itself, but the Lord alone is our master, sufficient to us even if body and soul should perish. Let us see whether Love will not finally conquer within us as well as without us. God and God's peace none can rob from us. That we love and bless each other, that is something the world cannot take from us. Our opponent shall not be victorious inasmuch as he will not be able to throw one single poisoned arrow against our fortification and we shall continue to love our enemies, no matter how much they hate us.

If anyone tortures you, bless him! Love him who hates you!

On this earth, a good man can grow even better through people who are doing evil.

In no way think or worry about the future, but rather love and suffer in this present moment, thinking more about God and his strength than of yourselves and your own weakness. Should your sufferings increase, the grace to bear them will increase equally. Many fear death terribly from afar and greet death as a friend when it comes close. Others again are heroes from afar and get to be cowards when death really approaches. With timid and constantly fearing natures it is not a rare thing to observe that they are constantly tempted to weaken and worry themselves over the future, so much so that they are no longer able to carry the burden, having added the future possible load to what the present puts on them. Your misery, your weakness, your enemies, the impediments and dangers, the present and possible future sufferings, and finally death itself, all these things are powerful and to be feared, if you stand alone and have to arm yourselves against them. But with God, and in God, all these things receive a different and much more beautiful aspect.

Even if all the power of sin and evil should stir up in you, go before God in honesty and say to him:

"Lord, still I shall not sin!" Withdraw your will gently yet completely from the evil, and within your souls bend towards God, as much as you are capable of doing so. In him and with him no evil can really reach you. But if you are not able to accomplish that, then suffer silently as a rock stands against the roaring of the ocean and a tree against a storm until the sky begins to clear again. If you think that you have given in to sin, then your whole heart shall say again: "Lord, yet I will not sin." And do not worry then over the sin! If we act in a disquieted manner in our feeling of sin and temptation, we do not accomplish anything, except that we increase the evil. A disquieted heart is already in part conquered. Do not even once think back on your sin. Experience has taught that often great temptations have been conquered by simply forgetting about them. Remember that you have other things to think about than to continuously reflect upon your sins. God and his Presence should be the main business of our soul.

Drop all cares and worries about yourselves. If the thought should come to you that your present condition might become even worse, then grant everything that might befall you and say: "And still I will not sin. I will nevertheless love God and glorify him. What really do I matter?" Then your bitter and restless emotions will change into a gentle and deep peace and your oppression into an immeasurable wideness and freedom of the spirit.

The Cross is a burden as long as one hates it.

In any case you must try not to conquer evil or anything of this world through force and restlessness, but through calm suffering and contempt. There is something that is fighting within us for us. Look at him a bit with love! Even yet on this earth your spirit shall become a throne of peace of God! Remember how quiet and pure, how respectful you ought to be!

Genuine greeting is a quiet bending towards another with our kindness and love; it is our spirit's secret handshaking, through which we communicate to others as much as there is in us of godlike mercy, strength, peace and life.

If You Want Peace

There is one,
Who gave his love to you,
His only son. He lives today.
What did you do? You turned away.
He asked one thing of you—
To have no hatred in your heart
And be the life that Life will glorify.
What do you do?
You give all your sons—
To hatred, and they die.

—Henry D. Burnham

PACIFIST POLITICAL

By JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN

MUCH WATER HAS FLOWED under the bridge since we first declared with confidence "Wars will cease when men refuse to fight," and since Einstein's calculation that two percent of the people would be sufficient to stop war. More than two percent, he declared, could not physically be imprisoned. But concentration camps had not then come into vogue, and wars in the twenties were still comparatively simple matters, with men counting more than machines. While refusal to fight remains the acid test of pacifism, and the slogan of the twenties will always be logically impregnable, we are beginning to realize not only that conscientious objection to armed service can bring into action only a minority of pacifists for a limited period of their lives, but that to be even partially successful the fight against war must be carried on on more than this one front. Others are discussing tax refusal as a phase of our fight; what I wish to do is to make some suggestions re—

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JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN was one of the founders of the FOR and of the War Resisters League, and a leader of the pacifist movement from World War I until the present time. She is now retired from her post as Principal of Textile High School Annex after a lifetime of teaching in New York City's public schools.

In his article "What Is Left to Do?" in the July issue of FELLOWSHIP, *A. J. Muste questioned the idea that pacifists must be "constructive" in the sense of presenting proposals to government officials for the achievement of peace that they will accept as practical; or that political pressure or political action such as pacifists can hope to achieve can accomplish anything significant in the present American or world scene.*

The Department of Defense and the Department of State, he says, are parts of the same organism, and their essential drive is a power drive in the direction of war. In such a situation what is required is a revolution of the spirit and a reversal of the drive, not attempts to make a slight turn in one direction or another. He calls for pacifists to preach the all-out, revolutionary pacifist position.

FELLOWSHIP *here presents two articles which take the position that political action by pacifists can be valuable not only as a means of educating the public to the pacifist position, but in itself and for what it achieves in the political field.*

ACTION— NOW!

By MARY S. McDOWELL

I BELIEVE A. J. Muste's criticism of the Quaker *Steps to Peace* in a recent article in FELLOWSHIP is well founded. Negotiation and diplomacy are not necessarily different in spirit from military force, and diplomacy has often been associated with duplicity. But it is possible to carry on negotiations having as their essential aim justice and good will to all parties concerned; and when that is the case, we are tending toward true peace. The Quakers doubtless had that type of negotiation in mind; but their report is weakened by not pointing out more clearly the conflict between the present dependence on military power and the proposed course based on justice and good will; and they doubtless minimize the difficulties in overcoming the strong influences that support the power program.

On the other hand, it seems to me that A. J. is not entirely realistic in apparently not recognizing that neither the U. S. nor the USSR is completely a power state. The power element is dominant now, but in every country, as in every individual, there is a latent possibility of recognizing justice and good will. The peace proposals have failed because they have not been supported or carried out, and because most people are so dominated by the emotions of military patriotism that they do not use their intelligence in matters of national defense.

Moreover, I am not convinced that communism and democracy cannot "coexist peacefully." No doubt the present power struggle between so-called democracy and so-called communism, if not modified, would probably result in war, and democracy would be lost, since either Russia or the United States, with its satellites, could largely dominate the world. But if the democracies gradually become true to their principles and respect all human life, at home and abroad, communism will also gradually change, adapting itself to the new environment. So both ideologies may have dominating influence in their respective regions, while gradually changing and becoming less different as they approach more nearly the ultimate aim of both: the welfare of the poorest and freedom and opportunity for all.

MARY MCDOWELL joined the FOR in 1917. During World War I she lost her teaching job in the Brooklyn public schools for her pacifist stand, and worked for awhile in the FOR office. Later reinstated, she has been an active pacifist from that day to this.

Becoming a pacifist is usually a gradual process. Practically all people are indoctrinated with military patriotism, and they continue to support, without question, the increasing appropriations for defense, until they realize the disastrous consequences of such action and gain a vision of a program based on justice and good will which can bring durable peace and security. At present they have not sufficient faith in God to give up the war method entirely, but our peace program may proceed by steps that are not too difficult for ordinary human nature. And when people realize that tensions could be lessened and cooperation increased by greatly expanded plans of the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, UNESCO, Point Four, the Colombo plan and by negotiations aiming at justice to all rather than power, then faith in God may increase, and the world may gain confidence enough to proceed by definite steps toward complete world disarmament.

Peace Education

Legislation, both domestic and international, offers opportunity for peace education of our neighbors and of Congressmen. We can point out ultimate goals when we comment on proposed short steps that tend toward peace by nonviolence. We may hope that the Walter Reuthers will come to take a more radical stand as education for peace and nonviolence progresses.

Advocacy of this type of education for peace does not discount the importance of individuals who will risk their lives for peace. Probably those who suffer for the cause do most to stir people's hearts and minds. But spreading the idea of a pacifist peace program is never contrary, but decidedly helpful, to taking the radical stand and enduring imprisonment or death. Those who are not of draft age must not be left to do nothing for peace out of a feeling of hopelessness.

Many pacifists may not be able to take any definite stand in witness of their faith, except by engaging in peace education, by conversation, by letter writing, and by distributing leaflets. We need a new leaflet that will present in a few pages a comprehensive and concrete program for peace which people who have not studied the subject may be willing to read. The FOR must give all possible help and encouragement to us ordinary members till every one becomes active, spreading the good news that war can be eliminated by intelligent faith and love.

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN

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garding aggressive political action by the pacifist movement.

Fighting men are an instrument employed by governments in waging war—not the only instrument, however, and in the impending atomic war, perhaps not one that is absolutely essential. Not only bombs and deadly bacteria, but air bases and alliances are bought and paid for by the billions of dollars to which the refusal of taxes, even by the great majority of pacifists, would serve merely as a gesture of defiance.

Our foreign policy, and with it the decisions as to war and peace, depends wholly upon the President and Congress. The people can ex-

ercise their theoretical rights in this life-and-death matter only by persuasion, by violent revolution, or by replacing one set of officials by another which is more responsive to the popular will. The first method we have employed off and on for many years without success; the second is ruled out permanently for pacifists; the third is the constitutional method for our democracy, and its corollary is the pressure, small or great, exerted upon government by the possibility of its use.

Use the Ballot

What I wish to suggest is the systematic and continuous use of the ballot as a weapon against war with the necessary activities which follow. We now have a full year before the election of a President and Congress which may decide the fate of the world. The obvious steps are these: first, listing three or four Yes-and-No questions on the issues upon which war directly depends; second, submitting these to incumbents and candidates by letters or preferably by district committees, with full publicity to the replies and failures to reply through all the channels open to us; third, conducting an active campaign in opposition to those candidates who are clearly pro-war, with support of any whose replies and record indicate that they are to be preferred, and where there is no choice to nominate independently some person of status in the district who is willing to stand on an anti-war protest issue.

We are all familiar with the objections to such a course. First is the feeling that this would constitute a threat and therefore be unworthy of us. No great reform can be conducted, however, without the threat of withdrawal of political support, and to serve notice of this withdrawal is no more a threat than our declaration to government that we will refuse our support to the armed services. It is, moreover, in direct accord with our Constitution, which our conscientious objection is not.

The second objection is, of course, that we are numerically too weak for such a campaign, and that our votes would stand no chance of affecting the issue of an election. We are under no illusions here, but this argument applies with equal or greater force to all our pacifist actions except those which serve only to preserve our own individual integrity. We have nothing to lose by showing our numerical weakness, for everyone knows it already. But something important may be gained at each step. The preliminary questions and interviews would make clear to each candidate that we mean business, just as the labor and other lobbyists mean business, and would "put teeth" into our letters to hard-headed officials who measure public approval solely by the number

CONTEST! PRIZES!

Fellowship magazine will give a prize for the best letter favoring political action now, and for the best letter against it. The two prize-winners will have a choice of *A Private View of a Public Man*, a biography of the English pacifist Leyton Richards by his wife, which has just been received in this country; or *The Theological Basis of Christian Pacifism* by Canon Charles E. Raven of England, just published by Fellowship Publications on October 15. Letters should be about 300 words long, and should be in by November 15.

of votes secured. In some cases more than this can be achieved, for there are localities where a respected anti-war candidate could secure enough signatures for nomination by petition. Writing-in is always the privilege of the voter, and a service would be rendered to democracy if each pacifist made the attempt to write in on the voting machine the name of at least one anti-war person whose name does not appear on the official ballot. If the protest voters in a given district, or in some cases in a state, could agree on the name of a candidate to be written in, and if a campaign could be conducted beforehand, much would be accomplished in getting our message before the people.

Political action must have its beginnings, and if we wait to use our franchise until we have an appreciable minority, we may remain passive indefinitely. Our American pacifist movement took shape in 1915, and if the quiet but persistent campaigns adopted by the British pacifists had been followed in this country, we might by this time have one or two pacifist leaders in Congress. We have waited thirty years to begin, and the next thirty years, or rather the next four years, will be crucial. Are we afraid of throwing away our votes, and for that reason are we going to vote into power a militarist government and then refuse to obey its decrees?

Graveside Commentary

We're gathered here this day to briefly moan
The passing of a friend too little known.
Some few have known him, others made pretense.
My God! how few were friends of Common Sense.
In other happy ages was he born,
But doomed to die in this; now there's the thorn,
For if an age e'er lacked a guiding hand
It's now, when sons of ignorance command.
Yes, Common Sense is dead and gone, poor soul;
But then, in modern life he found no role.
Dumb states will slaughter for the sake of pride;
That's doubtful payment for the men who died.
We loathe it, but what else can we expect,
Except a nation pillaged, gutted, wrecked?
The thread-bare logic mouthed by men of state
By clever sophistry engenders hate.
"We'll forge a peaceful world for every man;
By God! they die who won't accept our plan!"
We're losers in this hopeless marathon;
The mills of war grind on, and on, and on.
But he this world to peace could not convert;
Oh well . . . come help me shovel in the dirt.

—Richard Wilkie

News from the Peace Front

Students Fight ROTC at Willamette

Two FOR students, Marian Sayre and David Poindexter, at Willamette University in Salem, Oregon, have sparked a remarkable campaign there against the decision of the college trustees to install an air ROTC unit there. Willamette is a Methodist college, and in February the Board of Trustees instructed the President to apply for an AROTC unit for the college. He did so and it was approved by the Air Corps. Student opposition began to arise soon after, and received strong impetus when Bayard Rustin of the National FOR staff visited and spoke there. The spring conference of the Oregon Methodist Student Movement likewise gave encouragement to the opposition to ROTC, and a petition circulated at the college was signed by forty or fifty students, despite strong social and administration pressure.

Marian Sayre and David Poindexter brought the issue before the board of education of the Oregon Methodist Conference, and the board acted in opposition to ROTC. In June the Conference itself met, and the question was debated. President G. Herbert Smith of Willamette spoke in favor of the ROTC unit for Willamette, and the two students upheld the negative. When it came to a vote, the Conference voted 89 to 74 to request Willamette to bring about an "early termination" of the Air Reserve Officers Program scheduled to begin operating with the fall term. Observers reported that the ratio of those opposed was notably higher among ministers, and said that if laymen alone had voted ROTC would probably have been approved.

F.O.R. Works for Pacific Peace

The FOR in the Far West and Pacific Northwest, under the leadership of Orval Etter, held a four-week "Project Pacific Peace" during September, beginning with a four-day Labor Day weekend workshop. The Project centered around the question of the rearmament of Japan and in the Pacific generally, with the signing of treaties in San Francisco during September 1-8 as a focal point.

The project included statements to the public, visits to the delegations at San Francisco, literature distribution, letter writing, public speaking, and demonstrations of various kinds. Reports of these activities, particularly to peace leaders in Japan, were sent to give them assurance that there is activity in this country to support their own anti-rearmament work. A campaign was carried on which obtained several hundred signatures of women in the area endorsing the statement of the women of the Japanese Parliament contained in the leaflet "The Women of Japan Speak." Groups and individuals in many different communities carried on various activities during this campaign.

COs in Prison; Refused Parole

Arthur (Ted) Woldorf, 21, who was arrested in Lancaster, Pennsylvania on July 6, for refusal to fill out a questionnaire, was held in $10,000 bail, later reduced to $1,000 at a hearing in Philadelphia. Ted was a member of the Lancaster FOR Caravan in 1950, and had returned to Lancaster to work. At his hearing in Philadelphia messages of good wishes were delivered to him from his landlady and employer in Lancaster. On July 9 he was released on bail.

James Bolton was sentenced to a year and a day by Judge Carroll Hincks in New Haven, Connecticut on July 4.

Donald Wright was sentenced to three years by Judge James Carter in Los Angeles on June 11.

James Maloney was sentenced to three-and-a-half years by Judge James Carter in Los Angeles in June 11.

Donald Nagler was sentenced to two years by Judge William Steckler in Indianapolis on July 6.

Duane Metzger was sentenced to two years by Judge William Steckler in Indianapolis on July 6.

Stephen P. Shaw was sentenced to two years by Judge John Knight in Buffalo on July 10.

All the above except Ted Woldorf were tried for refusal to report for induction or refusal to submit to it.

T. Vail Palmer, eligible for parole on March 20, and *Robert Somers,* eligible June 28, have had their applications denied. *David* and *Paul Seaver,* 18-year-old twins, eligible for parole August 27, have also been denied it. These are the last four COs to come up for parole.

A member of the parole board reported to the Central Committee for COs that the board gave individual consideration to each case and did not have a policy of refusing all CO paroles. However, he said they did feel it necessary to vary their policy with the military need for men. Hayden Covington, general counsel for the Jehovah's Witnesses, reported that another member of the Board of Parole stated flatly there would be no paroles for JWs.

Howard Brown, Jr., 26, a Jehovah's Witness of Dayton, Ohio, was acquitted on June 12 in District Court there of draft evasion, when the evidence showed that his draft board had failed to notify him of his classification.

Bernard Primbsch of Sonoma, California, was sentenced to 18 months in prison by Judge Michael J. Roche in San Francisco on August 16, for refusing induction.

Robert M. Wingo, 21, was dishonorably discharged from the Army in July and sentenced to a year at hard labor by a court martial. He had attempted to get a transfer to a medical unit, in which he was supported by his hometown minister, the Rev. C. K. Sparks of Peoria, Illinois. Mr. Sparks charged that Wingo was courtmartialed despite a chaplain's recommendation and the finding of a special board that he be reassigned to a medical unit instead. When he arrived at camp, Wingo heard a lecture in which a major said the Army was going to make the recruits "the worst killers possible." Sparks said: "The boy felt something rise up inside of him. He asked to be classified as a conscientious objector."

The post commander, however, because Wingo had not indicated his objections before induction, re-

fused to reassign him. He acknowledged that the special board had supported Wingo, but said he was not obliged to appoint the board originally and felt that reassignment was not good for the service. Wingo was courtmartialed for refusing to carry a rifle to the firing range.

James Farmer, reported in the June issue of FELLOWSHIP as having been sentenced to prison for his CO stand, is not the same James Farmer who was on the staff of the FOR and CORE and who is now Executive Secretary of the Student League for Industrial Democracy, whose national headquarters is in New York.

Fear Curtails Academic Freedom

Academic freedom in the public schools is seriously endangered by increasing pressure on teachers to refrain from discussion of controversial issues, according to the Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom of the National Education Association. Unless the trend is halted, pupils may leave school with so little knowledge of important issues that they will fall easy prey to propaganda.

The committee pointed to the rise of numerous groups which want to "dictate the curriculum to the public schools and determine the teaching of controversial issues, not according to the true facts, but to serve their particular purposes." In the face of such pressures and with job security at stake, "voluntary censorship" by the teachers themselves is growing "by leaps and bounds throughout the country," said the committee. A survey indicated that five leading subjects to be avoided were sex, criticism of prominent people, separation of church and state, race relations and communism.

The committee also pointed to numerous organizations which are taking it on themselves to censor textbooks used in the schools, and to force abandonment of books they disapprove.

Wartime CO Fund Still Frozen

Congress has again failed to appropriate funds earned by COs during World War II for the purchase of books and laboratory equipment through CARE to be sent to colleges and universities abroad. The plan was once approved by the Senate and reported favorably in the House by the Foreign Affairs Committee, but in the rush of military and appropriation bills it was sidetracked. The fund, which amounts to $1,389,144.93, is in the U.S. Treasury, still frozen.

A strong attack against segregation in southern Protestant churches was carried recently by *Presbyterian Outlook,* a weekly publication of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (Southern). The article was written by James McBride Dabbs, a Presbyterian elder of Mayesville, S. C., who warned the churches that unless they abandon segregation their very survival is threatened.

Under the Australian conscription law, in New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Queensland, out of 36,500 eligible to register, almost 7,000 have failed to do so.

United States Pacifist Convicted in Puerto Rico

On September 7, 1951, in a court in San Juan, Puerto Rico, Ruth Reynolds, a former member of the FOR from the continental United States, was sentenced to six years at hard labor on a charge of advocating the overthrow of the Insular Government by force and violence. The prosecutor charged that, at an assembly on December 18, 1949, she had been one of an audience which stood and received a pledge, read from the platform by Pedro Albizu Campos, leader of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, to give "life and fortune to insure the overthrowing, paralyzing and subverting of the Insular Government" through armed revolution. This is the prosecutor's interpretation, of course, the pledge itself being to give life and fortune in the cause of Puerto Rico's independence. While agreeing that she attended the meeting, Ruth Reynolds testified that she remained seated when the audience stood up to receive the pledge. No one else, not even Albizu Campos, has so much as been indicted for participation in this meeting.

On the second count against her, that she rode in a car which carried firearms and incendiary bombs a few days before the outbreak of violence in Puerto Rico, she was acquitted.

The case stems from events of almost a year ago, when sporadic fighting broke out in various parts of Puerto Rico between police and members of the Nationalist Party. On October 29 the town of Jayuya was occupied by the Nationalists, on October 30 there was shooting at the Governor's Palace in San Juan and on November 1 President Truman's residence in Washington was fired on.

In Puerto Rico the National Guard was called out, and by the time the revolt had been suppressed, over twenty people, policemen, National Guardsmen, Nationalists and bystanders, had been killed, and others wounded. No fewer than 1200 people of various political persuasions, and of whom only about 300 or 400 were connected with the Nationalists, were gathered up in mass arrests, among them Ruth Reynolds. After being held for two or three weeks, about 750 were released, and charges preferred against the others. In these cases bail was fixed so high that all, including Ruth Reynolds, had to remain in prison pending trial.

The Nationalists advocate immediate independence for Puerto Rico, and do not confine themselves to constitutional methods. Luis Munoz Marin, the present Governor, is head of the Popular Party, and also stood for independence when he was voted in (the first governor of Puerto Rico to be elected by her people), but has since modified his demands. The Independentist Party stands for independence, but works for it through legislative and other legal ways. Other groups in the Island advocate statehood, while still others would like to see it a dominion of the United States. In addition to the political questions involved, of course, there are extremely complicated economic and social ones.

Ruth Reynolds went to Puerto Rico from the United States. She had lived and worked at the Harlem Ashram in New York City, founded by J. Holmes Smith, where a group of pacifists were attempting

to deal with the race situation by Gandhian methods, and it was there that she met Puerto Rican Nationalists and became much interested in the independence question. She became secretary of the American League for Puerto Rican Independence and in this capacity went to the Island to study conditions there. During most of her stay in Puerto Rico she associated closely with the Nationalists and was not active in pacifist circles there. She considers herself a pacifist, and testified to this effect at her trial.

Conrad Lynn of New York was sent to Puerto Rico by the Ruth Reynolds Defense Committee to be her lawyer, and Ernest Bromley, Wallace Nelson and Ralph Templin, all members of Peacemakers and the FOR, were in the audience. On the first day of the trial the court room was packed. As the trial got under way, however, a police cameraman moved up and down the aisles, taking pictures of the audience in sections. After a vigorous argument between Lynn and the judge, the picture-taking stopped, but the next day and for the rest of the trial, the courtroom was nearly empty. Interested people who were asked why they stayed away said, "I can't afford to take a chance."

The law under which Miss Reynolds was prosecuted is Law 53, passed by the Insular legislature and closely resembling the Smith Act here. Under it, to advocate even the desirability of overthrowing the Insular Government by force and violence constitutes a felony punishable by a maximum of ten years imprisonment, a fine of $10,000, or both.

The Ruth Reynolds Defense Committee, which is made up of people who are basically concerned with the civil liberties issue posed by Law 53, and the convictions obtained under it on the basis of the most flimsy evidence, is attempting to raise funds to appeal her case. If it is appealed, it would go to the Insular Supreme Court, and if necessary to the United States Circuit Court, and the United States Supreme Court.

Tax Lien on Houser's Salary

In August the Fellowship of Reconciliation received notice from the Bureau of Internal Revenue of a levy to collect from George Houser's future salary the amount he refused to pay in taxes for the year 1949, plus interest. George Houser has refused a portion of his Federal income tax because he does not wish to help build up the war machine of the United States. Under the income tax law, a minister does not have to have his taxes withheld, and A. J. Muste is also taking advantage of this provision to refuse to pay Federal income tax.

The Executive Committee of the FOR is discussing this question in an attempt to decide what such an organization should conscientiously do in a case like this one.

A new visual aid toy has been put on the market telling children what to do in case of atomic attack. Called Atomic Bombing Care, it is supposed to "help allay children's fear of the unknown by giving them specific information on what to do in case of atomic attack."

Peace Personalities Abroad

French and British Pacifists Convene

A conference sponsored by the IFOR was held recently in England at which French and British delegates discussed Christian pacifist fundamentals as understood by the two nations. Days of common fellowship and prayer brought new understandings and discussions centered around such points as these:

During the first world war the churches on both sides encouraged their own armies. Pastor Jean Lasserre of France felt sure that they would take sides in future wars, also, not according to countries, but parties.

Because the church as a whole is unsympathetic to them, the Christian pacifist in France is very lonely. The qualified support of a few capitalists can be his so long as he wants to fight against war only, and not against the existing economic system. Communists are against war, but may change overnight. The Christian pacifist, then, finds himself in the position of Jeremiah. As a result of his isolation he may tend either to retreat into the ivory tower or to join the Communist peace movement. Of both errors he must beware.

Pastor Balma of Torino said that the fact that young people love nobody makes it difficult to bring Christian pacifism to them. Their interest is in the social development of man, not in his soul. Jean Goss of Arcueil gave as the reason for this lack of love that nobody loves the young people. Fathers coming back from the first world war were hardened; mothers often did not want their children and they were not conceived in love. As a result they grew up feeling that everything was loveless.

Others at the Conference spoke of the desire for peace among Communists as being of the flesh and that their zeal reminded one of the Nazis; that Christian nonviolence rests on faith in the indisputable value of every human individual; that Christians, however, must match the purity manifested by some communism with the purity of their own Christianity.

The Conference was reminded that while England was linked to the Commonwealth and to America, France was bound to the Continent. Yet French COs looked to England as a sort of big brother. The only organized FOR groups in France were those in Paris and Le Chambon. Pacifists in France feel a great need for legal standing for COs. Each Friday at 6:30 a prayer meeting for COs in prison is held in Paris.

German Proposes Nonviolent Methods

Schottlaender, eminent professor, World Citizen and inhabitant of Berlin-West, has sent an open letter to Mr. Theodor Heuss, President of the German Federal Republic, which he concludes thus:

I ask you whether the only road that remains is not the one followed by Gandhi in India, by the Norwegians under the German occupation, by the Finns after the war and then by the population of

Berlin-West during the blockade: the road of an active, obstinate, tenacious and incorruptible resistance, but without weapons. . . .

Perhaps you will judge this call for resistance as being too destructive. It could easily be made a constructive proposition such as this: A draft for a law concerning the ending of the cold war in Berlin:

1. The People's Police and the Youth Organization of Eastern Berlin are to be dissolved.

2. In the whole of Berlin the Germans are forbidden to participate in any organization or exercise of military or para-military nature.

3. Exclusively for civilian services, a common police force for the whole town is to be created.

4. In the whole of Berlin, the preparation of military goals is forbidden.

5. The establishment of a tribunal of honor judging offences concerning war propaganda and hate in press, radio, movies and theaters.

German Church Opposes Rearmament

Preceding the East German plebiscite of June 3-5, in which it is reported that 96 percent of the 16 million persons who voted answered "yes" to the question "Are you against German remilitarization and for a peace treaty in 1951?", the Evangelical Church of Berlin-Brandenburg asked all churches to read a statement which defined the attitude of the Church.

The statement drew attention to the fact that "The Evangelical Church of Germany has, since 1945, urged the German nation not to deny the guilt which it bears, to submit to its consequences, and to avoid all bitterness and thoughts of revenge"; also that "the Church has warned the nation against entertaining hopes that through a war any improvement in German conditions could be brought about." And "it has spoken clearly against remilitarization for East and West Germany."

The statement called attention to the fact that in recent years German church leaders have requested the World Council of Churches, and churches in other countries, to urge national governments to present concrete measures for the maintenance of peace and not to shrink from important national sacrifices for the sake of this high purpose.

Churches were urged, by voting "yes" in the plebiscite, to "warn the competent authority in their State jurisdiction against any production of weapons of mass murder and against training in the use of them."

Defense officials estimate that production of military weapons is farther ahead now than it was in 1943, two years after Pearl Harbor.

The New York City Board of Education in July voted to bar the use of school buildings or grounds to the Communist Party and any other organization the Board or the Superintendent of Schools "has reason to believe to be totalitarian, fascist, Communist or subversive." One member of the nine-man board voted in favor of barring the Communists but against the provision about other organizations, declaring that it opened the way to "gross abuses, to grave injustices to individuals and groups."

Granted Citizenship Under New Act

Jean Christiaens, who came to this country from Belgium, was granted United States citizenship in Philadelphia June 12. Christiaens, who is a Quaker and a member of International Voluntary Service for Peace, is the first pacifist who is known to have received it since the passage of the McCarran Act. Under the Act new citizens must swear (or affirm) that they will bear arms when called upon to do so. However, conscientious objectors who object because of their religious training and belief may take the old oath, which speaks of defending the Constitution but does not mention bearing arms. Under this oath pacifists have been admitted to United States citizenship.

Christiaens, who is 29 and therefore not now subject to the draft, and who married an American woman, was questioned closely about just what he would be willing to do and what he would not. The immigration service then evidently decided not to oppose his application. Judge George A. Welsh administered the special oath to Christiaens following administration of the regular oath to 141 other new citizens.

Taxes Allocated under State Constitutions

The brief presented to the Supreme Court in the cases of Robert Richter and Robert L. Cannon of California included some interesting historical material that is germane to the tax-refusal issue. Sections were quoted from the Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey and Pennsylvania state constitutions, all of which specify certain restrictions in the use of tax money against the conscience of the person paying the tax, particularly that it should not be used to support a religion the payee does not believe in.

Especially interesting, however, is the Constitution of New Hampshire, adopted in 1784: Art. IIII "When men enter into a state of society, they surrender up some of their natural rights to that society in order to insure the protection of others; and, without such an equivalent, the surrender is void." Art. IV. "Among the natural rights, some are in their very nature inalienable, because no equivalent can be given or received for them. Of this kind are the RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE." Art V. ". . . no subject shall be . . . restrained in his person, liberty . . from worshiping GOD, in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, or for his religious profession, sentiments or persuasion; provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or disturb others, in their religious worship."

The National Religion and Labor Foundation has elected the Rev. Joseph W. Merchant as Executive Secretary to succeed Dr. Willard Uphaus.

The Air Force announced on August 1 that it had ordered four new bombers that will cost $21,000,000 each. They are powered by eight jets, and will drop their bomb loads from heights above 50,000 feet. It was estimated that the price would drop to $3,800,000 each in lots of 100 planes.

Books

System of Thought

Christianity and Society, by Nels F. S. Ferré. Harpers, 1950. 280 pp., $3.75.

This is Ferré's third volume in a series of extraordinary proportions. This book completes the first section of the projected literary enterprise. This section, under the general title of *"Reason and the Christian Faith"* is now complete and includes *Faith and Reason, Evil and the Christian Faith,* and the present *Christianity and Society.* The author has dedicated himself to the completion of this task which, for sheer magnitude, is hardly to be compared with that of any modern religious writer.

As these works have appeared they have met with highly favorable comment for their philosophic acumen and religious insight and power, from serious reviewers on both sides of the Atlantic. As the series continues to grow toward a major comprehensive system of Christian thought, it becomes increasingly important for every religious thinker to know Ferré.

In the first place, here is a highly informed writer who produces from a center of intense personal commitment. Whatever the difficulties to be encountered in following an enterprise of such proportions, they are not the difficulties that ordinarily arise from theological work. This author is never detached from his materials, never abstract. A deep sense of personal commitment and a rich personal devotional life are prior to literary creation. This quality is caught whenever Ferré speaks in public or private, and this same magnanimity and magnetism are reflected in his writing.

In all his work his distinctive contribution is that he places the love of God at the center of every problem; from that center it radiates into every component part of the problem, permeating the whole. In no case is *agape,* or the pure outgoing love of God, made marginal to considerations that appear to be more practical, or relegated to an ineffective place outside of or beyond history. God's love is not merely a metaphysical construct which realism must take with a grain of salt; it is of the essence of realism itself, and the only possible principle upon which one can come to grips with the problems of contemporary culture.

The main purpose of this present work is the interpretation of social problems in the light of *agape.* In doing this the author is not content to deal with surface symptoms and visible forces and determinants merely. Informed sociologically, he is rather first and foremost the theologian. As such, he deals in a convincing manner with religious insights which are currently neglected in theological discussion, notably the significance of the Christian doctrines of Creation and Redemption in the light of *agape.* The modern theologian, for

the most part, has devoted himself to the Christian doctrine of sin. The preoccupation with the fact of sin, and the isolation of this fact from the full Christian revelation, have resulted in a distorted view of both God and man, and the result plays into the hands of cynical worldly realism. Ferré's work has greater scope and proportion. Fully conscious of man's sinful state, he sets that fact in its proper place between the good creation of the loving Father God, and the promised redemption of fallen man through the given grace of *agape*.

In this volume, the author follows that clue into the more difficult fields of practical application, finding in *agape* the distinctive dimension of Christian social action, then applying this to the specific problems of War, Property and Education.

Readers of FELLOWSHIP will be inclined to turn to Chapter VII on "The Christian Perspective on War." This chapter should be read in connection with the entire book to get its full meaning. And it is hard to do justice to it in a single paragraph of review. Ferré is not a simple absolutist pacifist. He sees the love of God as either permitting or employing force throughout history, though always with the redemptive purpose. War, therefore, may not be regarded as having always been wrong; but the process of purposive evolution, always under direction of God and always moving toward spiritual community, now brings society to the place where war has outlasted its redemptive value. The author's thesis on this subject may be extracted in the following passage:

> The individual Christian, as the cell in the body, is thus bound for the sake of society to let God perform a miracle of healing and creative life in him beyond his utmost dream, and to show society a new way by renouncing war as now, at least, no longer constructive, even as maintaining the state, and by showing this positively co-operative way to the new epoch which God is waiting to let be born.

This, according to Ferré, is not incompatible with the political responsibilities of citizenship nor with the exercise of international police force to maintain order.

Most of the adverse criticisms of Ferré's work relate not to content but to style. The writing is compact and at the same time exhaustive. His desire for thoroughness leads him into many angles, and a casual reader is likely to lose sight of the main purpose. His terminology is loaded with specific meanings, and this presupposes a knowledge of the Ferré idiom which may be had only by reading a great deal of Ferré. For instance, his distinction between the *Spirit of God* and the *Holy Spirit* is an important one and an accurate understanding of the author's use of them requires a careful study of Chapter IV. He sometimes uses a harder phrase where a simpler one would do as well. An example is on page 190 in a long italicized sentence in which he boils down many previous paragraphs, presumably for the sake of clarity:

> Justice, at any point in history is the equal application of the content of community, custom and law in relation to the depth-dynamic influence of the intrinsic nature of Eternal Reality partially within, but dominantly surrounding that content.

Justice might be more simply defined without damage to the content the author would like to put into it. His public speaking and less formal writing such as *Pillars of Faith* carry the reader with a simpler style which would greatly help the more ambitious work.

—George Miles Gibson

How to Lobby

Pressures on Congress, by Fred W. Riggs. Kings Crown Press, 1950. 260 pages, $3.75.

Taking the Chinese exclusion laws as a case study, this book shows the pressures on Congress which resulted in the passage and more recently the repeal of anti-Chinese immigration laws. The author traces the growth of anti-Chinese sentiment on the West Coast and attributes the passage of exclusion laws to the relative indifference of the rest of the country and the "characteristic attitude" of the South on racial matters. In the pre-World War II period the public climate changed and, as Mr. Riggs points out, "popular literature reflected" this change. The "infamous Dr. Fu Manchu gave way to . . . the admirable Charlie Chan."

The major portion of the book is devoted to a study of the strategy and efforts to focus this changed popular opinion on Congress so as to achieve repeal of the exclusion legislation. Anyone interested in a study of techniques for influencing legislation will find this case study invaluable. It reveals, for example, how those favoring repeal nullified the American Legion's opposition, which is no mean achievement.

—John Swomley

Facts and Ethics

Science and the Christian Faith, by Edward Leroy Long, Jr. Association Press, 1950. 125 pp., $1.75.

The topic indicated by the title calls for two items of consideration: 1) Is there a discrepancy between science and Christian beliefs regarding the world picture? 2) How can Christian ethics be applied to scientific endeavor?

The greatest part of the book deals with the first item. The second is treated only in a very cursory manner and disregards the vital application of the tenet "Love thy neighbor . . ." to scientific work. In other words: the book does not deal with religious pacifism which would lead scientists to abstain from destructive work.

The greatest part of the book, dealing with a possible conflict between science and faith, is unsatisfactory from two aspects: the author confuses science and technology on one side, and faith and organized religion on the other. Much could be said about physical and biological concepts not being in contradiction with basic faith except for fundamentalists. Instead the author deals with the pseudo-scientific attitude for which he introduces the name "scientism" and essentially battles against making this scientism a religion. It must be doubted if the book will convince a non-believing scientist or technician of the validity of faith or church. For those who do believe, too little is said about the daily conflicts between Christian ethics and the work of the applied scientist.

A book with the topic indicated in the title is necessary but this one will hardly fill the gap.

—Victor Paschkis

Letters

Give Subscriptions

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

May I suggest again that groups and individuals be encouraged through your office to *give* subscriptions to their local libraries. Our local FOR group, though small, has given a subscription of FELLOWSHIP magazine to both the public library and the Drake University Library.

H. VAIL DEALE
Des Moines, Iowa

Land Redistribution

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The writer of the "Letter from Red China" in a recent issue comments favorably on the "successful redistribution of land in North China . . . and temporary rent reductions in South China (where land is to be redistributed later)." As there are many who feel as this writer does about land redistribution, I should like to offer some comment.

Since land is a primary factor in the production of all wealth (the other primary factor being human exertion, both mental and physical) the unqualified title to any portion of land, however small in area, constitutes a privilege (a basic social inequality), that is, if there is a single individual willing to pay the title-holder a price or rent in order that he may himself obtain possession of the land. Therefore, it is the price of the land privilege, and not the physical surface of the land, that should be distributed, if justice and its consequences, prosperity and peace, are to be achieved.

By a system of periodic public rent collections the equal right of all to land would be made a reality, provided the revenues were used to defray public costs, thus freeing human exertion from its present burden of taxation, which is now based on the highwayman's principle of "How much have you got?"

In considering land reform in China it is interesting to note that one of China's greatest teachers (Mencius) said that if the person in authority over a district levy a *ground rent*, but do not tax the goods, all merchants will be pleased to do business in his district.

RICHARD T. HALL
Boston, Massachusetts

The Social Democrats

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The essence of the capitalist system is that under it smart and reckless individuals can get unlimited capital and therewith not only obtain power, but live on the work of other people, i.e., on unearned income. This is a crafty kind of enslavement of the masses of people and leads to corruption. The goal of socialism is to do away completely with such a system, and thus liberate the people exploited by the capitalists. In theory the various social democrats or democratic socialists stick to this goal, but in practice their parties have scarcely touched it. I was, for many years, a member and functionary of the German social democratic party, (SPD) and left it after the first world war because of its ignominious fall, brought about by its support of the

war, which it had vociferously condemned until the last hour. Later when the social democrats had obtained power in Germany they proved contemptibly weak; and finally in 1930-1932 they revealed themselves to be watchdogs of capitalism by opposing the socialization of the German Reichsbank (then drawing 22% dividend!) and expelled Hans Schumann, functionary of Thuringia, from the party, because he and his friends insisted on the socialization of the banks and of money management. The social democrats throughout the world have maintained this strange position up to now. Their support of the infamous Korean war, which is a *capitalist war* hypocritically camouflaged by the so-called United Nations, shows clearly on which side they stand.

In the programs of the various parties no clear explanation is given of how to abolish unearned income, private power and the exploitation of the work. There are only vague proposals of socialization, and no mention of abolition of the two main props of capitalism: the private possession of land and—what is now almost more important—the private management of the way money is made. Until this is accomplished there is no way to introduce socialism and to abolish the power in the hands of individuals and groups. Or, what is not less important, to abolish wars. For theories have always been initiated through people in power, not through the working people.

Pacifism of the social democrats is therefore nothing but wishful thinking. I have been a pacifist for fifty years, and I am sure of it.

World government a solution of the war problem? An illusion under the present world conditions. Our United States' government is a pseudo-government depending on the "invisible government," as stated already by President Woodrow Wilson; a tool of the plutocracy in place of democracy. The private management of money—the very source of plutocracy—is now the most important cause of world troubles. The democratic socialists don't mind it, and even the Communists—their brethren in Marx—have still a capitalistic money system to a dangerous extent as a consequence of Marx's misunderstanding of money.

ANDREW CORDIAN
Flemington, N. J.

For Idealists

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I would highly recommend—to those who haven't already read it—Irwin Ross' *Strategy for Liberals* (Harper, 1949) as important reading for all pacifists. The need cannot be over-emphasized for abstract idealists to repress a tendency (to which, I must confess, I plead guilty) for the intellectual introversion which characterizes a large portion of our "family."

This book is concerned only with domestic policies, and represents the non-Communist, neo-Socialist point of view. It outlines briefly the fundamental political strategy which American liberals should be considering and familiarizing themselves with before the time comes for the social revolution to a mixed economy, which is apparently the next step in the battle for economic and political democracy.

There is a tendency among the radical American pacifists—and these are usually the most militant and crusading—to believe in a self-destructive tendency in any industrial society more centralized than an agrarian, Eighteenth Century economy. While great evils and great wars certainly seem to have accompanied this industrialization, the clock cannot be turned back. Mankind has tasted the abundance and ease which is his through control over and development of natural resources, and this development seems to be his destiny.

We can hope that pacifists will face the realities of industrialization and

partial centralization which force us to accept the responsibilities of world citizenship, and should necessitate an acceptance of the responsibilities of an organized, democratically administered society.

I often look with some awe and reverence at the more matured pacifism of Europe (particularly England) where pacifists have faced the realities of the Twentieth Century and enter actively into liberal politics. Less than ten years, I believe, after the founding of the FOR in this country England was blessed with an admittedly pacifist Prime Minister, and today several MPs include pacifism as an aparently important part of their political platform.

American liberalism is in many respects in an embryonic stage. There is great hope for increased economic democracy and a fuller realization of the "American dream"—if, of course, war can be prevented—and there is a great need for the "leaven" of pacifist idealism to continue to have its effect in the thinking of American reform movements. Actually, it is probably only through such subtle influence as this that America will ever become the pacifist nation of our dreams: i.e., have a nonviolent military policy.

ROBERT H. SOMERS
Federal Correctional Institution
Ashland, Kentucky

Primarily Pacifist

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I read with considerable interest John Mecartney's letter recently. There is no doubt in my mind that we as pacifists must support institutions which are not pacifist in nature from time to time in the interest of social progress.

Right now reforming our foreign policy along more pacifistic lines is the most urgent job we have. I would, therefore, urge pacifists to support all organizations that are *genuinely* pacifist with little regard for the organization's other commitments. I, as a business man who firmly believes in the capitalistic system will energetically support the Socialist Party when and if it becomes committed to a pacifistic approach to the world situation.

There are many individual pacifists in the SP, according to John Mecartney. There are also, certainly, many other potential pacifists. This is likewise true in the business community, although the pacifist population is less dense. Must not our work be with these individuals when and where we find them?

LEE B. THOMAS, JR.
Chicago, Illinois

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